NATIONAL
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ATOMIC SURVIVAL CENTER
The FALLOUT SHELTER
WATER CONTAINER

IS HE GOING HOME TO DIG HIS OWN GRAVE?
The fallout shelter hoax reaches a mad climax in Nashville

SHELTERS WON'T PROTECT OR DETER

The monster hoax of civil defense in a nuclear war

This is the first of a series on civil defense. The article below deals with the military strategy underlying the shelter program.

By Robert E. Light

BEGINNING EARLY NEXT YEAR, 540 children in Artesia, N.M., will get their education in a school 16 feet under ground. Now under construction, the school will have no windows or natural air; supplies will be lowered by elevators. It will have two connections to the surface "somewhat like subway entrances."

The students are part of an experiment to "test the effects on children of the absence of sunlight, windows, natural air and other normal contact with life above ground." Artesia is 30 miles from the Roswell missile base, and the community is thus preparing to "protect" its young from a nuclear attack.

Equally grotesque projects are under way in dozens of other cities as part of the latest national craze: Civil Defense. Unlike the hoola hoop or goldfish gulping, the CD mania is not likely to fade soon. It is official national policy, with the endorsement of the President and the Pentagon.

NO DETERRENT: Fallout shelters are being pushed as a means of surviving a nuclear attack and as a deterrent to an attack. But civil defense will neither protect nor deter. A national shelter program tends to increase the possibilities of war, escalates the arms race to even more fantastic levels, and inflicts psychological wounds on the populace which may lead to habit patterns unknown since man left the caves.

Civil defense used to be a national joke. Each year Congress knocked down budget requests to a point at which CD officials had just enough toys to keep them busy and away from serious military projects. But, in an address to Congress on "urgent national needs" last May 25, President Kennedy made civil defense official policy. He called for a national fallout shelter program as "insurance for the civilian population." Later he asked for and got a supplementary CD appropriation of $308,000,000 to locate and mark shelters in existing buildings and to stock them with supplies. He also shifted civil defense from civilian to military control.

THE BIG BUILDUP: Simultaneously a publicity campaign, surpassing in dimension and dishonesty a Hollywood sex queen buildup, has been sweeping the country. Almost every newspaper and magazine has joined to herald the good news that man can survive a nuclear attack if he builds a shelter in his backyard. **Life** magazine's spread was enhanced by a letter to "fellow Americans" from President Kennedy urging shelter construction.

The House Military Operations subcommittee, under Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), held hearings Aug. 1-9 to "prove" that the nation would not be destroyed by a nuclear attack, if it took shelter precautions. Civil defense opponents were not asked to testify.

'DIRTIEST EVER': The Nation called the shelter campaign "the dirtiest deception ever perpetrated on a nation of sheep." CD propaganda relies on an emotional pitch. What few facts it offers cannot withstand scrutiny. It juggles statistics and makes unwarranted assumptions.

The CD campaign stems from the Rand Corp. and other Pentagon-financed studies which tend to show that, with advance preparation, under certain types and levels of attack, some of the nation could survive. CD proponents argue that the Soviet Union will be deterred from attack if it knows that a substantial portion of the U.S. will survive, and it is the duty of the President to maximize protection of the civilian population.

But the voluntary family shelter meets neither requirement, It offers no guarantee that the shelters will be built to specification to resist fallout and fire storms or that they will be stocked properly or located strategically. Rather it guarantees chaos in the event of attack.

IKE'S VIEW: It has already been envisioned that shelter owners will need firearms to keep out shelterless neighbors. It is not likely either that men will be willing to descend to downtown shelters for two weeks while their wives and children are miles away. Former President Eisenhower put it: "If I were in a very fine shelter and they [his family] were not there, I would just walk out. I would not want to face that kind of a world and the loss of my family."

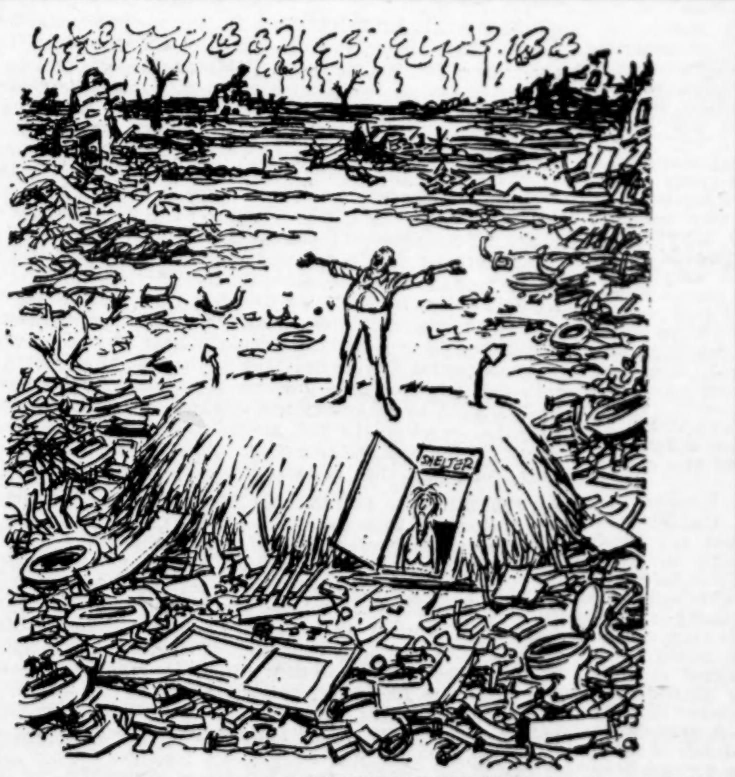
A Connecticut housewife on a TV program posed another dilemma. She has five children, three of them of school age, and her husband works in New York. When the alarm sounds, she asked, shall I take the two children at home to the shelter and abandon the others at school? She concluded: "We are just not going to build a shelter."

Few CD proponents argue seriously for the family shelter. The current campaign, as I.F. Stone put it in his **Weekly**, is designed to "make our threat of going to war over Berlin credible to Khrushchev." It is also the first phase of training the population to accept shelters as part of a way of life.

LONG-TERM PLANS: The civil defense campaign will not end with a Berlin solution. President Kennedy said he plans to ask Congress for considerably increased appropriations. Holifield, CD's main supporter in Congress, indicated that he put no faith in a voluntary family shelter plan. Clearly, if the population and the economy can be saved, it is up to Washington to prepare community shelters, in office and factory, and to make extensive plans for post-attack recovery (for example, food and water storage, decontamination, etc.).

Holifield has a plan to spend $20 billion in five years. Others in the Admin-

(Continued on Page 4)



Interlandi in the Des Moines Register and Tribune
"It's mine, mine, all mine . . .!"

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THE MAIL BAG

A call to action

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

When Lord Russell was released from jail, he issued a call for international resistance to war and the A and H Bombs. I propose that such a call be transformed into fact. I propose a "Ban the Bomb Day" in which countries all over the world would take part. Perhaps a billion voices shouting for peace would have some effect on arrogant world leaders.

A call from Nehru or Nkrumah for cooperation in such a demonstration to the people of the world might substitute for a world-wide organizational planning machine. **Gerald Bornstein**

Imperialism blamed

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As Nehru has stated, Khrushchev's heart was heavy over this gloomy decision. And who is not disturbed? But the point is to direct one's disappointment to the source of the world's agony (of which bomb testing is only one symptom)—to an imperialism which is willing to finish mankind off if it can't be stopped from going socialist.

The Stalin revelations, the Hungarian uprising, the bomb tests—these manifestations of a complex, revolutionary process would not throw people if they would take the trouble to study all pertinent data before reacting like children who have just discovered that mommy and daddy are not gods, but well-meaning, practical people fighting for sanity in an insane world.

Robert Arnow

Atomic Armageddon

DOVER, N.J.

The concept that the world or a portion thereof may survive of the atomic Armageddon has made for the strangest dormitory of bedfellows. As for your correspondent who believes that it is better to die by U.S.S.R. testing than any other, my sole hope is that his grandchildren who may be involuntarily required to accompany him to his eternal rest are as informed in the concepts at stake as he seems to be.

As a member of the duodenal ulcer club I find myself greatly dependent on the consumption of milk. It is no solace to know that the increase in the deposit of strontium 90 in my bone marrow is the sacrifice I must make to ensure atomic equilibrium between the two world powers. For our children's sake, there must be a better way to seek peace.

Leonard S. Amada

Kennedy's role

DORCHESTER, MASS.

Kennedy advocates national liberation and supports the invasion of Cuba. He talks about the horrors of nuclear war and simultaneously threatens to use H-bombs to maintain West Berlin for a base for American and German imperialism. He talks disarmament and runs a campaign critical of Eisenhower for not arming enough. He claims to be an apostle of peace and achieves a $3.5 billion raise in the military budget.

The leaders of the Socialist countries had to determine whether Kennedy's path was a path leading to peace or to partial destruction of their countries. They evidently decided that the danger of attack was grave and they took the necessary step of test resumption. And despite the moaning at the bar by some liberals and reformists, common sense indicates that there is somewhat less danger of a holocaust as a result of their decision. When People's China has the bomb there will be still less danger of an imperialist attack and the outbreak of war.

Homer B. Chase

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LIVINGSTONE, Northern Rhodesia, Oct. 23 (Reuters)—Scores of white Rhodesians swam in the crocodile-infested Zambesi River here during the weekend rather than use the municipal pool, now open to Africans and Asians.

A sign posted at Livingstone Beach warns that "bathing is suicidal because of crocodiles," but yesterday 100 Europeans splashed in the water there. "Multi-racialism at the municipal pool has driven us to the river," said one swimmer.

—New York **Post, Oct. 23**

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. J. L., Brooklyn, N.Y.

A warning

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On Nov. 7 New Yorkers will be asked to vote on an amendment to change the Constitution so that state support may be provided for colleges controlled by religious denominations.

According to proposed amendment, the state would allow a New York State Buildings Authority to aid by loans **or otherwise** any institutions "authorized to confer degrees." The state's credit would be placed behind bonds issued by the Authority up to **half a billion dollars.** The state would be liable for these bonds, principal and interest for up to 40 years.

This is part of the over-all attempt to subvert or get around and finally do away with the principle of separation of church and state, a principle so vital to the preservation of our freedom.

I urge you to consider the dangers involved in this amendment 6 and to pass this warning on to those in your community.

Corliss Lamont, Vice-Chairman, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

(Also opposing the proposed amendment are Americans United for Separation of Church and State; the Protestant Council of N.Y., and the Citizens Union. The N.Y. **Times** editorially opposed it Oct. 26.—Ed.)

Student magazine

ITHACA, N.Y.

On Oct. 9, the first issue of **New Freedom** appeared. The publication will doubtless be of interest to GUARDIAN readers, for it intends to report fully on the political activity on campses across the country.

New Freedom is published by students at Cornell University. Single copies cost 10c; subscriptions cost $1. The mailing address is Box 664 Ithaca, N.Y. It goes without saying that we need the support of readers all over the United States if we are to present significant reporting on the whole student movement.

Lewis Perry

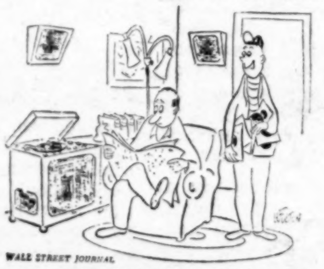
For a long life

CHICAGO, ILL.

Not many months ago I decided on the NATIONAL GUARDIAN as best deserving of the little time and resources I could personally contribute, a decision of such permanency as to include it as the beneficiary listed on my insurance policy. In taking this step I did not wish to imply any left-handed swipe at other publications, but rather to emphasize the importance of a concentrated effort in building a truly national newsweekly.

As with any publication with very limited resources, there may at times seem a weakness in foreign correspondence. At other times there may seem to be a serious lack in reporting facilities in our own country. To those readers who write critically of these shortcomings, I would say that there is nothing wrong with the GUARDIAN that a stronger base of support can't cure.

Name Withheld



Fulton in the Wall Street Journal

"Hi dad! Wanta hear my new one? A series of authentic sonic booms, backed up by a red-hot guitar!"

A 'thank you'

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

Through my own carelessness, I caught cold in Moscow while on the GUARDIAN Tour, and by the time we got to Kiev, had developed pneumonia and landed in a hospital.

I received a great many "Get Well" cards and a group of letters from my fellow tourists. The expressions were very beautiful and touching. I'd like nothing better than to write and thank each and every one individually. But that would be almost impossible and besides, I lack most of their addresses. So with your permission, I'd like to say that I love each and every one of them and that I have fully recovered and feel fine again.

Thank you all most kindly.

Simon Kaplan
10236 51st Ave. N

Warning on Birchers

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

It is obvious that the Birch Society is organizing in secret the upper crust of the industrial and military groupings in this country. This grouping around the Birch banner is preparing to take governmental power if a more liberal Democrat or possibly a third party aligned with labor should win a large increase in elective power. A group that has already elected two or more congressmen and is making deep inroads into the military leadership cannot be laughed off.

Samuel H. King

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LAST FRIDAY defense attorney Emanuel Bloch spent three hours with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the Sing Sing death house. News of the nation-wide response to the GUARDIAN appeal for funds and support "thrilled them and moved them to tears," Bloch reported.

Here is what Ethel Rosenberg said, as attorney Bloch took down her words: "All of a sudden my drab and wretched surroundings are touched with radiance and color. The expressions of support from my new-found brothers and sisters are unutterably touching. I am speechless with gratitude and admiration for all the precious human beings who have offered their love and assistance to our dear children and have at the same time rendered such a beautiful tribute to us, their parents. In all humility, I pledge myself anew to the unceasing war against man's inhumanity to man in whatever form it may rear its brutal head. I shall never sell short the faith and trust that the GUARDIAN readers have reposed in my husband and me. Else shall our lives have gone for naught."

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 7, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Dr. Jagan pays a call

ACROSS THREE COLUMNS on the front page of the N.Y. **Times** for Oct. 26 were pictured, on the left tipped jauntily back on his familiar rocking chair, our 44-year old President John F. Kennedy, and on the right, relaxed on a White House sofa (with the summer slip covers still on it), British Guiana's 43-year-old Prime Minister Cheddi Berret Jagan.

Aside from the novelty of bringing together two of the few chiefs of state in the world with full heads of hair, the occasion had special significance. Dr. Jagan is a Marxist, and the only national leader in our hemisphere other than Fidel Castro who behaves like one. By 1963, perhaps sooner, his small country of a half million population on the north coast of South America will become independent of its colonial master, Great Britain.

Dr. Jagan's visit to the White House was to seek to qualify his country for a loan toward his four-year industrial development program which may cost more than $200 million. He does not expect the U.S. to provide the whole amount.

Dr. Jagan is frank to say his aim is to create a socialist economic system in Guiana as the only means of pulling his country up from poverty quickly enough to prevent an explosion that would produce a dictator. Furthermore, Dr. Jagan's country maintains friendly relations with Cuba, and ships the Cubans rice, timber and railroad ties. His country also owns some of the world's largest bauxite deposits, basic to aluminum production.

Dr. Jagan became Prime Minister of British Guiana in 1953 after an election victory of the People's Progressive Party. His government lasted about six months. Then, in the wake of the U.S. overthrow-by-proxy of Guatemala's reform government, the British moved troops into Guiana and deposed the Jagan regime. This was 1954. Both Dr. Jagan and his wife were decried as Communists and spent some time in jail, but at the next election, in 1957, Dr. Jagan was back as chief minister.

In August of this year, against virulent opposition which included Senator Dodd and an assortment of John Birch congressmen, the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press, New York **Herald Tribune** and **Daily News** and Dr. What's-his name's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade which raised $45,000 for his opposition, Cheddi Jagan won again.

LAST YEAR AT THIS TIME, Dr. Jagan came to the U.S. without incident. Honor guest at our GUARDIAN dinner, he thanked our readers for sending books at Mrs. Jagan's request for the PPP library in Georgetown (which has been named the Guardian Library), and spoke out persuasively against the long-range folly of a hemispheric policy of isolation and worse against nations determined on gaining economic as well as political independence.

This year, Dr. Jagan arranged a trip to the U.S. in October, with an engagement to address a Great Neck, L.I., public forum, then to visit Canada and to return to the U.S. to see President Kennedy and Secretary of State Rusk.

The Great Neck forum was set upon by reactionaries who caused the hall to cancel, bouncing the meeting to a New York City hotel with a doubled audience. Dr. Jagan went on to Washington.

At the National Press Club, where most controversial foreign dignitaries (Khrushchev for example) have their hour while in the nation's capital, Dr. Jagan laid it on the line. Reaffirming his country's determination on a program of socialism and "active neutralism" steered by a government pledged to parliamentary democracy, he suggested the U.S. means only capitalism when it speaks of democracy and declared ". . . it is not our concept of democracy, but yours, that is on trial."

NEITHER DR. JAGAN nor President Kennedy disclosed what took place at their conference on Oct. 25, but the forum in N.Y. two weeks earlier, Dr. Jagan had said:

"The count-down to revolution has already begun. If the peoples of Latin America are not to be permitted to carry out by constitutional method urgent programs of social and economic reform, their growing discontent will topple over as certainly as the night follows day into revolution. The question for the American people at this moment in their history is: Must other Latin American nations be forced into revolution such as has already happened in Cuba? This is the question mark which hangs over Latin America. The hour is late. The Latin American peoples will give their answer soon."

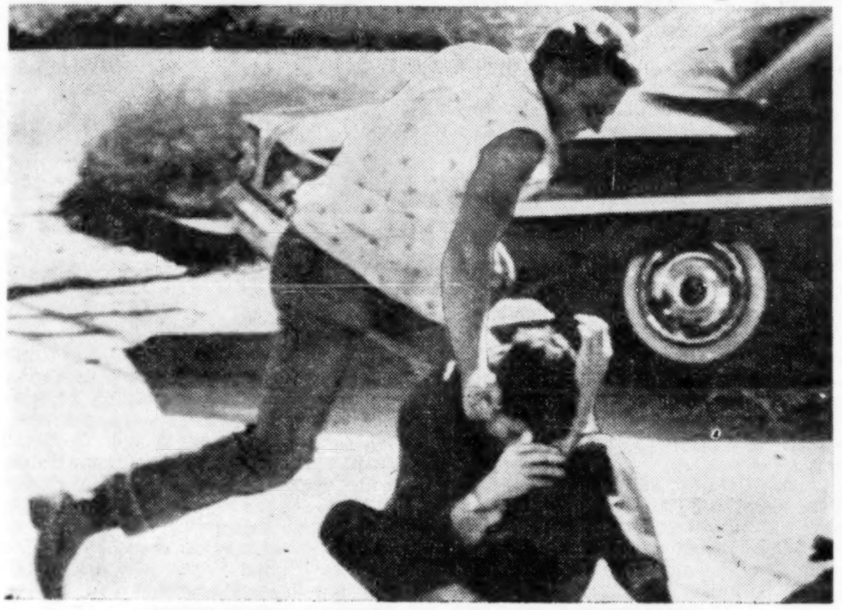
The day following the White House conference, the N.Y. **Times** reported "reasonable expectations" that a U.S. loan to British Guiana might be forthcoming.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Terror in Mississippi—an untold story

The GUARDIAN's Joanne Grant last week went to Chapel Hill, N.C., for a civil liberties conference and there gathered some of the details in the stories on this page. Her conference report will appear next week.



MISSISSIPPI'S ANSWER TO THE INTEGRATIONISTS
Carl Hayes slugs a freelance writer, Tom Hayden, at McComb

By Joanne Grant

BEATINGS, arrests and even a murder have been the response to a new student drive to increase Negro voter registration in Mississippi. Press silence on the events has heightened the atmosphere of fear in Mississippi and given segregationist state and local government officials and police a freer hand to terrorize potential Negro voters and Negro students active in the campaign.

Victims of the violence have been members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee who opened voter registration schools in McComb, Miss., and surrounding counties in August. The murdered man was 52-year-old Herbert Lee, a student at one of the voter registration schools. He was shot Sept. 25 by E. H. Hurst, a member of the Mississippi Legislature.

NO PUBLICITY: In many of the incidents the violence can be traced to local officials. In some, police officers have looked on while beatings were administered, then arrested and roughed up the victims. The Federal government has entered one case and instituted four voter registration suits in the state and is conducting investigations of voter registration procedures in several Mississippi counties, but there has been little national press attention given to the events. Aside from a New York **Times** article Oct. 24, based on interviews with Mississippi Negroes by Claude Sitton, and a **Newsweek** item Oct. 23 on a McComb incident in which two white students were beaten, there has been almost no news out of the rural counties in which the registration drive is taking place.

Since September there have been at least six beatings and one murder. This is what happened:

- On Aug. 7, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee opened voter registration schools to teach Negroes registration requirements. On Aug. 15, Robert Moses, a Negro field representative for SNCC, was arrested in the Liberty, Miss., registrar's office where he had taken three Negroes to register. On Aug. 29, Moses was attacked in the street by Billy Jack Caston. Caston, son of a police officer, was acquitted of assault.

- Another SNCC field representative, Travis Britt, 27, was beaten as he accompanied four people to the registrar's office in Liberty. His assailant, together with several other whites, immediately left the scene.

- John Hardy, a SNCC representative, was struck on the head with a pistol by Tylertown registrar, John Wood, as he left Wood's office. A witness reported that when Hardy sought to file a complaint with the sheriff, the sheriff threatened to "beat you within a inch of your life." Hardy was arrested on breach of the peace charges and the U.S. Justice Dept. has instituted suit to prevent his prosecution. The government won a delay in the Appeals Court Oct. 30.

- Herbert Lee, active in the vote drive, was shot by State Representative Hurst Sept. 25. The **Times** account said: "The Representative struck Mr. Lee on the head with the pistol, crushing his skull. The Negro fell dead. A bullet was later removed from his head. 'I must have pulled the trigger unconsciously,' Mr. Hurst said. A coroner's jury, all white, ruled it justifiable homicide. Hurst was never taken into custody."

STUDENT WALKOUT: On Oct. 4, 108 school students walked out of school in protest against school authorities' refusal to readmit Brenda Travis, 16, who had been arrested in August during a sit-in at the Greyhound bus station (she was later sentenced to a year in reform school). SNCC field representatives Moses and Robert Zellner, and SNCC chairman Charles McDew, were arrested on the court house steps while the high school students, who had marched through McComb, were praying in front of the courthouse. Zellner was beaten and charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. His trial was scheduled for Oct. 31.

The high school students were asked to sign a statement agreeing to expulsion if they staged a future walkout; they refused. In another move school administrators proposed that the students return to school, but accept a 10 per cent grade cut. On Oct. 16 they turned in their books. About 75 now attend classes at a junior college in Jackson, Miss., and the remainder attend classes conducted by SNCC representatives.

McDew said: "We've made a few changes in the curriculum: in school they were taught that the Civil War was the 'War of Northern Aggression,' so we changed that. We teach them some math and hygiene and citizenship—that's nonviolent direct action methods."

FUNDS NEEDED: SNCC has appealed for funds to help the Mississippi students, for legal defense of its members and for its registration campaign. The address: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 197½ Auburn Av., Atlanta, Ga. SNCC also asks that messages of support be sent to Brenda Travis, Mississippi Colored Girls Industrial School, Oakley, Miss.

'Let me get at him with this blackjack'

"MOVE OUT of the way just a minute and let me get him with this blackjack." That's what Robert Zellner heard someone say as a group of whites closed in on him on the McComb, Miss., courthouse steps. Zellner had marched to the courthouse with a 100 Negro high school students protesting the expulsion from school of a student arrested in a sit-in. He was the only white person in the Oct. 4 demonstration. Zellner, 22, is a field representative of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

As the white men neared Zellner, two Negro students moved to his side. Policemen grabbed the Negroes and shoved them into the courthouse. The police chief, George Guy, took Zellner's arm. "The whites in the crowd kept moving closer," Zellner said. "They began grabbing at my legs. One reached from behind and dug his fingers into my eyes. It felt like an animal's claws, digging deep behind my eyes. He was pushing me down. The police chief was still holding my arm. I fell. A man wearing khaki pants and heavy brown brogans kicked me in the face. I don't remember how I got inside the courthouse. The next thing I knew a plainclothesman was saying they were going to take me to the county jail in Magnolia. The police chief said: 'I oughta left ya out there. They would of killed you.'"

TWO DAYS IN JAIL: At Magnolia he spent two days in the Pike Co. jail, then was released in $300 bond, pending trial on charges of breach of peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors. There were no other arrests. The police chief said: "There were too many people around to see who struck him."

Five days later Tom Hayden and Paul Potter, national affairs vice president of the National Student Assn., went to McComb to gather material for articles on the voter registration drive. They interviewed the police chief and others during the day. At night, "through the underground," they met Student Non-Violent Cordinating Committee leaders in town. The next day, as they drove on a street paralleling the line of march of Negro students staging their second demonstration against school authorities, the police chief stopped them and told them they would have to go to city hall to be identified. A police car followed them to direct them to city hall.

"As I stopped at a light," Hayden told the **GUARDIAN**, "I noticed that the police car had turned off. Just as I told Paul that, a man opened the car door and dragged Paul out. He beat him pretty badly and then dragged me out and beat me. Fortunately for us, a United Press International photographer had been behind us and he took pictures. Later the police broke his camera open, but he had hidden the film." Their assailant, Carl Hayes, was arrested and is scheduled for trial in November. Hayes is a relative of several police officials.

A Sovereignty Commission member threatened to have Hayden and Potter arrested for vagrancy, because they had been in town for two days "without a sufficient reason." Hayden said: "I said I wanted to call the FBI and tell them about it, so the idea was dropped."

WARNING GIVEN: Hayden and Potter received a warning that they should not sleep in their motel that night because a group planned to "get them." Hayden raised the following questions about the incident: "How did anyone know which motel we were in and that a mob was coming? How did Hayes happen to be on the corner just after the point at which the police car turned off? How did the police chief know that we had talked with SNCC people the previous night?"

Zellner, a native Southerner, and Hayden said Mississippi was "well-organized." "Everyone in power is related to everyone else,"

ACTORS CLEARED IN CONTEMPT CASE

Sullivan and Tyne acquitted

ACTORS ELLIOTT SULLIVAN and George Tyne were acquitted on charges of contempt of Congress on Oct. 30 by Federal District Judge Sidney Sugarman in New York City. Judge Sugarman's decision was based on a legal technicality in which he held that a bill of particulars offered by the government at the defense's request failed to enumerate the authorization of the House Committee on Un-American Activities before which the two actors appeared in August, 1955.

Sullivan was tried last June 19 and Tyne a week later.

Both men declined to answer questions at the 1955 hearing on First Amendment grounds. The hearing was billed as an investigation of "the communist conspiracy in the entertainment business."

Folk singer Pete Seeger, indicted as a result of the same hearing, was tried separately before Federal District Judge Thomas F. Murphy and convicted. He was given a one-year sentence. Seeger is free in $2,000 bail pending appeal, scheduled to be heard by the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York in March, 1962.

DEGREGORY LOSES: Hugo DeGregory, New Hampshire office worker, lost a second appeal to the Supreme Court on Oct. 23 from a contempt oonviction for refusing to answer questions in a one-man investigation against "subversion" by New Hampshire's former Attorney General Louis C. Wyman. DeGregory must now serve a one-year sentence.

DeGregory's case began in 1954, when he returned voluntarily to New Hampshire from California to testify in behalf of his father-in-law. He was himself subpenaed and refused under the Fifth Amendment to answer questions concerning membership in the Communist Party. The State Legislature thereupon enacted an immunity law and DeGregory was again subpenaed and again declined to answer the same questions.

EARLIER APPEAL: He appealed that conviction but spent two weeks in jail in 1957 before he could raise $10,000 bail. The Supreme Court upheld the New Hampshire immunity statute in June, 1959, in a 6-to-3 ruling and the case went back to the New Hampshire courts. Wyman this time around dropped the old charges and instituted a new proceeding against DeGregory, who still declined to answer questions. The second conviction resulting from this action is the one now affirmed by the Supreme Court, 5 to 4.

OTHER CASES: The Supreme Court is expected to rule on eight other First Amendment contempt cases during its current term. They involve John T. Gojack, former United Electrical Workers official who appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1955; William A. Price, former reporter for the New York **Daily News** who appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1955 and 1956; Robert Shelton, copy editor on the New York **Times**; Alden Whitman, also a New York **Times** copy editor; Herman Liveright, former program director for a TV station in New Orleans; Norton A. Russell, an engineer of Yellow Springs, Ohio; Edward Yellin, a graduate student in engineering; and the Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla., and president of the Miami branch of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

The monster hoax of civil defense

(Continued from Page 1)

istration have gone as high as $30 billion. At either level, the shelter will become as common as the washing machine.

But the shelters will neither deter nor protect. None of the proposed shelters is designed to protect from blast and fire; they all are supposed to protect from fallout persons who are miles away from the target area. Those in the target area will be presumed to be dead and the area destroyed by blast and fire.

TARGETS NEAR CITIES: Adam Yarmolinsky, special assistant to the Secretary of Defense, told the Women's Natl. Democratic Club that "a reasonable planned enemy attack, now or in the next few years, would concentrate on military targets. Few weapons would be spared for cities as such." Sheltered persons in cities presumably have a fair chance for survival. But a map published in **Air Force** magazine (Sept., 1961) showed that there are missile bases in every state and most are near heavily populated cities.

Scientists Harrison Brown and James Real described the possible damage to Los Angeles from a single 10-megaton bomb thus: "The blast effects would exterminate virtually all but the most deeply sheltered living things within a radius of five miles. Blast casualties would be severe to a distance of ten miles. But the phenomenon that would complete the devastation of life in the entire area would be fire. The area would be one great sea of fire, which would burn until there was nothing more to consume. A good proportion of the metropolitan area's three-and-a-half million cars and trucks would be lifted and thrown like grotesque Molotov cocktails, to spew flaming gasoline, oil, and automotive shrapnel onto and into everything in their paths. In an instant most underground gasoline and oil would rupture and explode within the blast area . . .

"It seems clear that in the event of such an attack there would be virtually no survivors of the blast and thermal effects, with the possible exception of a few persons who had made elaborate preparations for surviving the catastrophe. Their shelters would have to be very deep and provided with a built-in oxygen supply and cooling system. Unless they were able to maintain themselves for many weeks, their chances of making their way to relative safety would be slim."

PERIL TO SIGHT: Philip Wylie, former civil defense consultant and now a CD opponent, wrote in the **Rotarian,** Sept., 1960: "Granting clear weather, the explosion of a medium-sized H-weapon, day or night, would cause all persons indoors or out within view of the fireball to look at it, by uncontrollable reflex. And such people, seeing the fireball bloom into glaring reality—whether in air or ground burst—would be made blind, instantly, even at distances of 40 miles from the explosion."

Of those who might survive an attack, physicist Ralph Lapp wrote in the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,** May, 1959: "If the nuclear attack took place during the growing season, much of the crop would have to be sacrificed. Thereafter many areas would be denied to dairy farming for a decade . . ." In addition, unless animals were included in the shelters, they would be useless as food.

After an extensive attack, survivors would surface to a country without transportation, sanitation or communications; with no food or water supply; with no factories, mines or farms. Survival would likely mean delayed death, from secondary radiation, epidemic, starvation or at the hands of marauders.

A LIGHT BLOW? To overcome the obvious arguments against shelters, CD proponents assume a very low level of Soviet attack. In predicting that 97% of the population could survive, **Life** assumed a Soviet attack of 300 megatons. But according to **Army** magazine, the U.S.S.R. has a capacity of 10,000 megatons.

Hanson Baldwin, military affairs editor of the New York **Times,** said that "studies show that if about 30 per cent of the population of any country is killed, wounded or put out of action, that country will no longer function as a rational, coherent social organization."

But Rand Corp. studies presented at the Holifield hearings showed that an attack of 1,000 megatons against cities would kill more than 45 per cent of the population by blast and immediate radiation, exclusive of fallout. A 3,000-megaton attack would kill 120 million people by blast and radiation alone.

Dr. Edward Teller and other shelter advocates suggest that persons in shelters away from the blast area might ascend in about two weeks, when radiation will have died down. But this assumes there will be only one attack. What if attacks are spaced a week or a month apart?

SOME QUERIES: These are other questions CD proponents sidestep:

- What if a nuclear attack is coupled with a gas or bacteria attack?
- What if the H-bomb jackets are made of cobalt, which would increase fallout immeasurably?
- What if instead of ground bursts the bombs are exploded at high altitude? A dozen H-bombs in the 50- to a 100-megaton range exploded well above ground on a clear day would ignite every exposed piece of inflammable material in continental U.S. and Canada.

But key is that shelters have value only to the extent that evacuation time required is less than warning time, i. e., persons must be able to attain shelter between the time of the first warning and the impact of the bombs. Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Arleigh Burke testified last year that it was "improbable" that there would be "enough warning time for the major portion of the population to attain shelter."

TIME FACTOR: Warning time for the detection of Soviet missiles and planes varies from 15 to 27 minutes. This assumes that the detectors will not question their radar screens and will relay the alert immediately and communications around the country will operate without a hitch.

Clearly, if it is the purpose of civil defense to protect the nation so that enough of its population and industry can recover from an attack to rebuild the society within the same political and economic structure, then it is a failure as a protection. As little as one-third of the Soviet nuclear capability delivered on the U.S. would effectively destroy the society, even if the population was in shelters.

But these calculations presume a first attack by the U.S.S.R. Civil defense has a military value only when it is viewed as an offensive weapon. If the U.S. were to strike the U.S.S.R. first in a sneak attack, making sure beforehand to locate its own population in extensive shelters, it is possible that the nation might survive the Russians' retaliatory strike. This would depend on (1) the extent of the shelter and post-attack preparations; (2) the nature of the U.S. strike; and (3) the efficiency of the Russians' retaliation forces.

WORTH STUDY? The Soviet "second strike" capability is variously estimated at from 2,000 to 5,000 megatons, which is enough to destroy the U.S. (U.S. "second strike" is estimated at 10,000 megatons). But some military planners believe it is possible to reduce Soviet retaliation potential, while increasing shelter precautions to a point at which the U.S. might survive. At least, they argue, it is worth study.

Not all CD advocates necessarily propose a sneak attack on the U.S.S.R. They argue that having the potential for such an attack puts the U.S. "one up" in the arms race—that is, it creates a favorable gap in the balance of terror.

Soviet leaders, viewing extensive U.S. shelter preparations, might justifiably conclude that the U.S. was planning a surprise attack. In considering possible Soviet answers to the threat, J. David Singer, in the October issue of **Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,** suggested that "it would be legitimate for him [the U.S.S.R.] to give greater consideration to opting that very opening strike himself." Political and moral considerations aside, the U.S. retaliatory potential of 10,000 megatons does not make a Soviet "first strike" likely..

THE SPIRAL: Militarily, the U.S.S.R. is more like to answer by (1) building shelters itself and thus putting the U.S. under a similar surprise attack threat, and (2) by building larger H-bombs (1,000-megatons), which would make even blast shelters obsolete.

The U.S. answer to the Soviet counters would be to dig deeper shelters and build bigger bombs.

Brown and Real foresaw the civil defense phase of the arms race last year in their booklet **Community of Fear.** They also predicted this picture of future life: "Factories will be built in caves, as will apartment houses and stores. Eventually most human life will be underground, confronted by arsenals capable of destroying all life over the land areas of the earth. Deep under the ground people will be relatively safe—at least until such time as we learn how to make explosives capable of pulverizing the earth to great depths."

BACK TO CAVES: Even if it does not lead to shooting war, the arms race spiral will cause some extensive casualties. Brown and Real put it: "Once the people are convinced that they can survive the present state of the art of killing, a broad and significant habit pattern will have been introduced and accepted, one grotesquely different from any we have known for thousands of years—that of adjusting ourselves to the idea of living in holes. From that time onward, it will be simple to adjust ourselves to living in deeper holes."

To the extent that continued shelter drills and underground living reduces the population's will and ability to resist war, mankind will have lost. Ancient Romans thought that destruction of civilization was unthinkable until Rome was sacked.

THE ONLY SHELTER: Is there an alternative? New Jersey's Gov. Robert Meyner, in an article against shelters in **Coronet** magazine, Sept., 1960, pointed a course. He wrote:

"There is only one solution: peace. Anyone interested in protecting more than a minute fraction of the American people ought to devote himself to obtaining—while there still is time—an enforceable peace . . .

"But the making of a genuine peace is too important to be left to governments alone. It needs the active support of individual citizens. By making known to their governments the growing strength of their commitment to peace, they can create a mandate so powerful it will not long be denied. The only shelter against a nuclear war is a workable peace."

NO TESTS
WE OPPOS TESTIN
US
WEST
"THE FIRST NATION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING WILL COVER ITSELF WITH SHAME—AND BE BRANDED BY ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD"
NIKITA KHRUSCHEV JAN. 14, 1960

ALMOST 3,000 PERSONS, many of them younger than 30, picketed the Soviet UN delegation headquarters in New York Oct. 28 against the resumption of nuclear tests. The pickets chanted: "No test, East or West." Signs ranged from "Ban the Lousy Bomb" to "You Have Covered Yourself With Shame." One eloquent placard read: "LIFE!" The demonstration was sponsored by a group of peace leaders and coordinated by the New York Council of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. A delegation including pacifist James Peck, Rose Wood, Robert Gilmore of the American Friends Service Committee, and Dr. Homer Jack and Paul Greenberg of SANE, presented an appeal to the Russians to halt the 50-megaton test. The group emphasized its opposition to all tests. Later 21 young people, on their own, attempted to stage a sit-down in the vestibule in front of the building. They were taken away by police. The youngsters were released with a reprimand.

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GEN. HESTER RECALLS SOME EARLY STEPS TO THE 'CRISIS'

How Berlin 'war fuse' was lighted by the West

The author of this article, Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U.S.A. (Ret.) was food and agricultural administrator in the U.S. Zone of Germany in 1945-47. He is the co-author of On the Brink, *and the writer of many newspaper and magazine articles.*

By Hugh B. Hester

SHORTLY AFTER Hiroshima, Albert Einstein, the great scientist, said: "Our world faces a crisis as yet unperceived by those possessing the power to make great decisions for good or evil. The splitting of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."

Berlin is such a crisis; it is a lighted fuse threatening war, and has been since 1946; sometimes burning brilliantly as during the airlift, 1948-49, and again now; at other times faintly, but always burning. This fuse was lighted by James Byrnes, then U.S. Secretary of State, when he demanded the unification of Germany on U.S. terms, in a speech at Stuttgart on Aug. 26, 1946.

Byrnes' demand was considered a clear repudiation of the Big Three's 1945 agreement at Potsdam, Germany. This pact provided for denazification, demilitarization, decartelization and democratization, as well as the unification, of Germany. (Incidentally, not a single one of these has so far been achieved.)

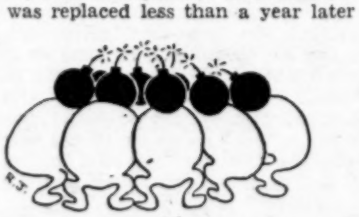
THE PROGENITORS OF THE BERLIN CRISIS: HITLER (LEFT) AND MUSSOLINI (3D FROM LEFT)

The Nazi-Fascist "crusade against communism" failed, but the lesson was lost on the Western Powers

FIRST 'GOALS': The reason for putting British, French and U.S. military forces in Berlin at the end of the war was the planned use of it as the capital of a new, purified and united Germany, after the previously mentioned objectives had been achieved. Once it was decided that any one of these objectives was unobtainable or desirable, on less than a unanimous basis, the reason for putting Western troops in the Soviet Zone of Germany collapsed.

And since no other than the originally agreed purposes could be substituted without unanimous consent of the signators to the agreement, all subsequently assigned reasons for maintaining Western forces in Berlin became invalid, save in the context of military might and power politics.

Byrnes' repudiation of the Potsdam Agreement led to the establishment of a bi-zonal (British-U.S.) organization early in 1947, with headquarters in Frankfurt. This was replaced less than a year later by a tri-zonal organization (France added), with headquarters in Bonn. As Chief of Food and Agriculture for the U.S. Zone of Germany and quadripartite representative for these same matters, with headquarters in Berlin, 1945-47, I strongly opposed this policy. I feared it would light the fuse of another war and so stated at the time.



THE AIRLIFT: A dramatic act, however, was required to end this fictitious facade of great-power cooperation. The Berlin airlift supplied this. Some portents of development are recounted here to show how and why wartime cooperation ended.

Leo Crowley, chief administrator of the Lend-Lease program, canceled Soviet participation in it immediately after the war ended in Europe in May 8, 1945. This was done to no other ally. And the State Department conveniently "lost" a Soviet request for a $2 billion loan, at 4% interest, for rehabilitation, shortly after the war ended.

George F. Kennan, temporarily in charge of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, urged an end to wartime cooperation with the Soviet Union in a secret message to the State Department early in February, 1946. The proposals of this message—containment and eventual destruction of communism—were first disclosed to the public in "The Forrestal Diaries," edited by Walter Millis, and later by Kennan himself in an article in Foreign Affairs, July, 1947, signed "Mr. X." The containment policy was adopted by the Truman Administration in January, 1947. On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill made his "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo., presumably with President Truman's approval.

Less well known, however, is the remark by former President Herbert Hoover to a German audience at Stuttgart, Jan. 30, 1947, that the U.S. expected German support in the coming struggle with "the atheistic barbarians of the East." At the time Hoover was making an economic survey of Western Europe for President Truman.

MARSHALL PLAN: In July, 1947, the Marshall Plan was presented to the public as a substitute for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Program, known as UNRRA. This marked the official end of U.S. economic cooperation on a non-political basis. (Actually, this cooperation ended almost a year earlier when the government refused further support of UNRRA.) The Soviet Union denounced the Marshall Plan as economic imperialism.

Shortly before I left Germany in November, 1947, a principal adviser to the U.S. Military Governor informed me that the West was planning to introduce a new currency into the three Western zones of Germany and, also, into the three Western sectors of Berlin. Asked about Soviet participation, he indicated conditions imposed by the West would make this impossible. The new currency was suddenly introduced in the Western sectors of Berlin, 110 miles inside the Soviet Zone, in 1948 while "negotiations" on this subject with the Russians were in progress. The result was the Berlin blockade.

The subsequent rearmament of West Germany constitutes a betrayal of those who served our country in World Wars I and II, for the supposed purpose of defeating the German militarists. And it also ties all of Eastern Europe to the Soviet chariot. A member of the Polish Foreign Office confirmed this in a conference in Warsaw, in 1957. All East European nations and peoples, and many in Western Europe, fear a rearmed Germany. The Soviet Union is probably more concerned with the West's rearmament of West Germany than with any other development since 1945.

WAR RAVAGES: The Russians have not forgotten that the Germans destroyed 10 million Russians in World War I and 20 million more in the second World War. They fear the West's insistence upon retaining "rights" in Berlin is not for the purpose of establishing democracy and freedom. They still remember the Berlin operations of the notorious Gehlen gang, organized and financed by the West, which engaged in every form of subversion, including murder. They also believe U.S. insistence on a Berlin foothold is part of the "rollback" plan of the late John Foster Dulles. Soviet Premier Khruschev has expressed this fear to many persons, including this writer.

It is important that the American people know who the present power elite of West Germany really are. The elite consist of the same groups that brought Hitler to power in 1933, that is, the owners of the great landed estates, which include the Catholic Church; the manipulators of the cartel-industrial-complex and the officers of the German General Staff. U.S. interests have invested heavily in this new cartel-industrial-complex. (For details of how decartelization failed in the U.S. Zone of Germany, see Dr. James Martin's book, **All Honorable Men.**) The West German state and the federal judiciary reportedly are honeycombed with former Nazis, and many general officers of the West German military forces served Hitler loyally.

It is also important for Americans to remember that their military men and women have been sacrificed by the hundreds of thousands for purposes our "leaders" apparently no longer consider of value. Three great wars in the century have not made the world "safe for democracy," have not "ended war," have not destroyed Nazism or Fascism.

FINAL ODYSSEY? Now Vice President Lyndon Johnson pledges "our lives, our fortunes, and sacred honor" to the West Berliners. This sounds like a declaration of World War III. It could mean man's final Odyssey.

West Berlin is not free; it is not a democracy; it is not a "showcase" for private enterprise. Its position is anomalous, and it constitutes at this moment the greatest threat to world peace. It is a kept city: first by U.S. taxpayers' money, and now largely by that of the West German people. It is abnormal according to President Eisenhower, absurd according to Premier Khrushchev and artificial by any standard.

Britain, France and the U.S. have no moral or legal rights in West Berlin. They have only power "rights." Any moral or legal rights possibly valid initially, have been destroyed by the creation of the bizonal organization with headquarters in Frankfort in 1947, and by subsequent events.

The best solution of the German problem, I believe, would be the unification of a disarmed and neutralized Germany, outside NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the disengagement of the hostile military forces down the center of Europe, possibly along the lines of the Rapacki Plan. This plan, named for the foreign minister of Poland, provided also for the demilitarization of his country along with Czechoslovakia.

Germany cannot be united inside NATO, with or without free elections, any more than it can be united inside the Warsaw Pact. Neither bloc has the military power to do so. Democracy, freedom and self-determination have nothing whatever to do with it, and the leaders of the West should stop the hypocritical pretense that they do.

'FREE' ELECTIONS: A former U.S. ambassador to Indo-China told this writer that the U.S. could not agree to "free' elections in Vietnam, as provided at Geneva, 1954, because Communist North Vietnam had a larger population than South Vietnam. It is for the very same reason that the Soviet Union cannot agree to "free" elections in Germany and Korea: the so-called capitalists have the larger populations in both of these divided states. It is as simple as that.

Probably the best possible West Berlin solution would be a city detached and independent of either the East or West, but with freedom of travel, trade, information and cultural exchanges guaranteed.

The Berlin crisis can, in my opinion, be resolved by the recognition of both West Germany and East Germany by all other governments and by each other. Both are **de facto** goverments, and sound policy demands the recognition of this fact. If this is done, Berlin need no longer be an issue, provided West Berlin is set up as a free city and so administered.

You won't see this exclusive Guardian story elsewhere—why not clip it and send it to a friend?

IT'S THE COLD WAR UEBER ALLES

U. S. is pressuring Britain into the Common Market

By Ed Sears

(First of two articles)

EARLY IN OCTOBER Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal of Britain, flew to Paris to inform the six foreign ministers of the European Common Market nations that England was ready "to subscribe to the aims and objectives" of the Common Market. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan had announced in August that Britain intended to apply for membership. Heath's trip to Paris was no surprise. His statement, however, was. Few observers expected such a complete reversal of British policies.

The Common Market, officially known as the European Economic Community (EEC), now consists of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. These countries agreed several years ago to form a customs union and to integrate their economies. The accord, spelled out in the Treaty of Rome in March, 1957, provides the economic basis for an eventual political union of Europe.

THE ORIGIN: The concept of a united Europe has been pushed vigorously by the U.S. since the end of World War II. In 1960 a special study mission to Europe of the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported: "The political aspect of German attitudes toward the Common Market is, at the moment, a dominant one. As one official asserted, the politics of the European scene will outweigh the purely economic factors so long as there is a Soviet threat. *In retrospect, he continued, the last war was fought for the unification of Europe.*" (My italics, E. S.)

Hitler's "New Order" might thus be considered the grandfather of the Common Market. Its immediate sire was the Marshall Plan, instituted by the U.S. soon after World War II.

Alexander Menne, member of the management board of Farbwerke Hoechst—formerly part of the IG Farben industrial empire—and a recently elected member of the West German Parliament, spoke before the German-American Chamber of Commerce in New York's Hotel Savoy Hilton last September 7. (For more on Menne, Farbwerke Hoechst, and the German-American Chamber of Commerce, see Ed Sears' story on Gen. Lucius Clay, GUARDIAN, Oct. 2). Menne told the German-American group:

"We have always looked at the Common Market as a political idea. And who was the inventor of this idea? The United States. It was your State Department which, under President Truman's administration, wanted—for political reasons, mind you—a European community. We in Germany knew that it would not be exactly to our advantage but we agreed . . . What we actually wanted was an Atlantic Community . . . If we have an Atlantic Community one day . . . then we will have a bloc which is economically strong enough to stop communism."

The early German misgivings about the Common Market were based on fears that the Americans, rather than the Germans, would dominate it. These fears may prove groundless.

THE PROPOSALS: While the Common Market is essentially a political instrument—a continuation of Hitler's anti-communist crusade—it is also an economic entity of major importance to the world. Under the Treaty of Rome, member nations were supposed to remove all tariffs on industrial goods among themselves by 1970. (Since then they have agreed to abolish these tariffs by the end of 1965.) At the same time they were to erect a common external tariff against goods from non-member countries. Other provisions called for a common agricultural policy, a common transport policy, the free movement of capital, labor and services among member countries, an "anti-trust" policy, the harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies, preferred treatment for member nations' colonies, and creation of supra-national institutions such as a European Investment Bank and a European Court of Justice.

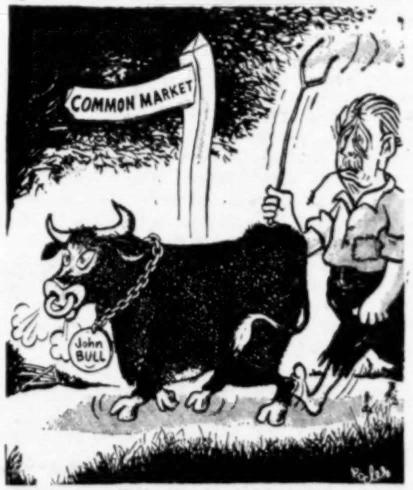
Kumar Goshal on radio

The GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal will discuss his recent trip to Africa on FM station WBAI (99.5) in New York, Nov. 7 at 7 p.m. The program will be rebroadcast Nov. 8 at 9:15 a.m.

Since the six signers of the treaty had already been members for years of the European Coal and Steel Community, which established a common market for coal and steel products, they were the logical nucleus for a broader Common Market.

Shortly after the signing of the treaty, Britain and the other countries of Europe started negotiating with the six for some sort of accommodation. Britain at that time was adamantly opposed to a common external tariff. Such a tariff would play havoc with British agriculture and disrupt her traditional trading patterns.

FARM PRICES: Unlike most capitalist powers, England does not support farm prices. It imports great quantities of food, generally tariff free or at low tariffs, and sells it at low prices to its population. It pays British farmers a subsidy to make up for the low price at which they are forced to sell their products. Most European powers (and the U.S.) maintain high farm prices by buying surplus food, by limiting both domestic production and by fixing high tariffs on imports.



Eccles in the London Daily Worker

A common external tariff would force Britain to tax its food from non-Common Market countries, mainly the Commonwealth and the U.S., thereby raising the price British workers must pay. It would also mean substitution of a price support policy, which generally favors large farmers, for the subsidy policy, which usually is of greater benefit to small farmers.

A common external tariff would also end Britain's "imperial preference" system of tariffs. Under this system England fixes either no tariffs or low ones on goods produced in the Commonwealth countries, while levying high tariffs on goods from non-Commonwealth countries. The Commonwealth countries, in turn, give British goods preferential tariff treatment. Since about two-fifths of her foreign trade is with Commonwealth countries, Britain was reluctant to abandon her "imperial preference" system.

FOR FREE TRADE: Britain, therefore, proposed in 1958 that the six Common Market countries establish a free trading area with the other West Europe countries. Under this plan the countries would abolish tariffs against each others' industrial products, but each nation would set its own tariffs on non-European products.

Germany and England, for instance, would levy no tariffs against each other, but each would be free to impose tariffs on goods from countries not belonging to the trade association. Thus, the six members of the Common Market could still establish a common external tariff, but it would apply only to non-European countries. This scheme would have given England access to the Continental markets and, at the same time, enabled her to maintain her agricultural policies and her special relationship with the Commonwealth countries.

The Dutch and the Germans, who do extensive trade with Britain, were inclined to favor the plan. But the French objected vigorously.

The French feared such an arrangement would open Europe up to a flood of non-European goods. A Canadian firm, for example, could ship its goods tariff free to England, and then have these goods reshipped to France, bypassing French restrictions against non-European imports. The French also objected that the plan would create a more favorable climate in England than on the Continent. An American manufacturer setting up a plant in England would have a privileged position in both the Commonwealth and in Europe. With a plant in France, he would have favorable access only to Europe.

Another factor was fear that England and Germany might form a partnership against France, whose economy is the weakest of the three.

COLONIAL QUESTION: Probably the biggest stumbling block was the colonial question. At French insistence the treaty signatories agreed to let products from members' colonies enter the Common Market tariff free. They were to retain this privilege for a number of years even if they became independent.

This provision gave the French colonies a decisive advantage in the European market over the British African colonies. It gave them a strong incentive to remain in the French Community after achieving nationhood. Extension of this priviledge to the British colonies would have weakened this incentive.

Connected with this was France's determination to hold onto Algeria, where there are large deposits of oil. French Algeria or an independent Algeria linked to the French Community could ship oil tariff free to all of Western Europe.

At the time of these early negotiations Kuwait, now "independent," was a "protectorate" of Britain. With Britain admitted to a European trade arena, oil from Kuwait could also flow tariff free into Europe, thereby undermining Algerian oil.

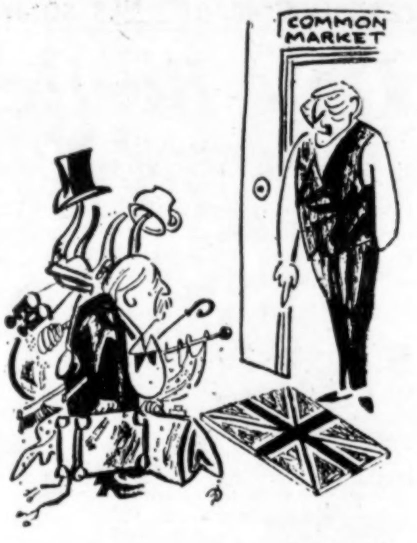
The French thus rejected the idea of a European free trade association. They demanded that Britain accept all the terms of the Rome Treaty, even if this meant changing domestic agricultural policies and severing Commonwealth ties.

'OUTER SEVEN': Negotiations broke off late in 1958. The British formed a trade association with most of the remaining western European powers. In November, 1959, Britain, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Portugal signed the Treaty of Stockholm which established the European Free Trade Association. The group became known as the "Outer Seven"; the Rome Treaty nations were called the "Inner Six."

The EFTA was a trade association, rather than a customs union. Members agreed to abolish eventually all tariff restrictions against each others' industrial goods, but each was free to retain tariffs against non-members. There was no requirement for a common external tariff. The EFTA also did not attempt to coordinate domestic economic policies of members. Aside from a Council of Ministers and a small secretariat, it did not create supra-national bodies.

Most important of all, the EFTA was not a cold war instrumentality. Unlike the Common Market, the EFTA had members (Sweden, Switzerland and Austria) which did not belong to NATO.

FOR BARGAINING: Britain fostered the EFTA essentially to increase British bargaining power vis-a-vis the Common Market. The EEC countries sold the EFTA countries goods worth $5.6 billions in 1959, almost a fourth of all their exports. The EFTA tariff provisions threatened this highly profitable market. Through this economic squeeze, Britain intended to force the Common Market countries to agree to an all-European free trade association.



Tvorba, Prague

"And wipe your feet, Macmillan!"

The Common Market countries, however, were not prepared to make concessions. They retaliated by accelerating their internal tariff reductions, which threatened Britain's sizable exports to the Common Market. These developments, which were splitting West Europe into two permanent trading blocs, alarmed U.S. officials. They feared the separation would threaten U.S. investments in Britain and shatter their dreams of uniting West Europe politically against the socialist world.

U.S. private investments in Britain total $3.2 billions, as against $2.6 billions in the six Common Market countries combined. Two-thirds of these investments are in manufacturing facilities. Many of these plants have important markets in the EEC countries. The trade split seriously threatened these markets.

PRESSURE PUT ON: The U.S. began pressuring Britain to join the Common Market. So open was this pressure that Edwin Dale, New York **Times** writer, reported from Stockholm last May 8:

"They [the Scandinavian countries] are . . . agreed, with varying degrees of bitterness, that U.S. policy—not in so many words but in practice—is aimed at breaking up the Outer Seven . . . The U.S. view was made quite plain this week in Sweden, where it hurts most, by Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges. Repeating the theme expressed ten days earlier in Washington by Douglas Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hodges bluntly told the Swedes that the U.S., for political reasons, wanted Britain, and as many others as possible of the seven to join the Common Market. The idea is that this would contribute to the unity of Europe."

At the time Hodges spoke, Britain was undergoing a balance-of-payments crisis so severe that Europe's leading bankers made an agreement to refrain temporarily from taking gold and dollars out of England. This agreement, which could not have been effective without cooperation of the Germans, probably saved England from complete financial collapse.

A few months later Britain applied for and received a $1.5 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund, which is dominated by the U.S. The Basel agreement and the loan have, for the time being, relieved the financial pressure on Britain.

Britain, however, had to pay a high price for this relief. She had to institute an austerity program at home (see Ed Sears, "Behind British Crisis," GUARDIAN, Aug. 14, 1961) and to agree to join the Common Market abroad.

That is the story behind Lord Privy Seal Edward Heath's statement to the Common Market foreign ministers that Britain is ready "to subscribe" to the EEC's "aims and objectives."

NEXT WEEK: The U.S. and the Common Market.

JOSEPH P. MORRAY: HOW MANY DELAYS ADD UP TO A FLAT 'NO'?

U. S. disarmament plan pledges no real cuts

Joseph P. Morray is an expert on international affairs, the author of From Yalta to Disarmament *(Monthly Review Press). A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and Harvard Law School, he was a naval officer in World War II and served for five years as naval attache in U.S. embassies. Recently he taught at the University of California in Berkeley. He is now in Cuba, working on a new book.*

By Joseph P. Morray

THE LATEST U.S. PROPOSAL on disarmament, presented to the U.N. General Assembly now in session, contains many expressions of a will to disarm. It declares the U.S. goal to be "a world where there shall be a permanent state of general and complete disarmament under effective international control." It sets forth as one objective "the disbanding of all national armed forces and the prohibition of their reestablishment in any form whatsoever other than those required to preserve internal order and for contributions to a U.N. Peace Force."

However, a close reading of the proposal shows that the U.S. is offering to give up little of its freedom to maintain armaments at levels decided by the National Security Council, the Pentagon, Congress, and the President. It is only in the second and third stages of the plan that states would commit themselves to reduce armaments "to a point where no state would have the military power to challenge the progressively strengthened U.N. Peace Force." Any such obligation would not arise until an International Disarmament Organization declared that the first stage had been carried out, that "effective verification" was continuing and that arrangements for the next stage had been instituted.

The prospect leaves open the crucial question of voting procedure in the disarmament organization. A U.S. veto has not been renounced. The U.S. has still not offered to allow transition from the first stage to later stages without its own consent.

MANPOWER CUT: Under the present proposal therefore, the U.S. would agree to accept only the first stage restrictions on armaments. These would not substantially reduce the military power the government has assembled. Military manpower levels of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would be cut to 2,100,000. This feature is undoubtedly related to the Defense Dept.'s desire to change the composition of U.S. military forces. According to the **Army-Navy Journal**, the department's budget request for the fiscal year to begin in July, 1962, would increase money appropriations and decrease manpower on active duty.

In return for accepting this treaty limit on manpower, the U.S. would gain a long-time Pentagon objective—greatly improved military intelligence on Soviet forces and defenses. The U.S. proposal makes agreement contingent on an inspection system designed to guarantee "that retained armed forces and armaments do not exceed agreed levels at any stage."

On several occasions during the long negotiations since 1946 the U.S. has insisted "disarmament" begins with verification of existing forces, that is, with an exchange of military blueprints, verified by inspectors and aerial photography. President Eisenhower's "Open Skies" plan, first introduced in 1955, called for such an exchange of military intelligence as a prerequisite to further disarmament talks. The Soviet Union has always refused to give up the military asset of secrecy except in return for commitment by the U.S. to accept substantial reductions in armaments. Offering to limit manpower to 2,100,000 will certainly not win Soviet consent to such an inspection system, since the U.S., with 2,100,000 in its armed forces, would continue to have a devastating power of attack.

ARMS 'DESTRUCTION': Another proposal of the plan is the transfer of weapons to custody of the International Disarmament Organization. Apparently the weapons would remain in the country of origin, within reach in case of need. They would be destroyed only after the "states party to the agreement have agreed that the armaments and armed forces are at prescribed levels." In other words the U.S. is here, too, seeking a prior right of inspection. If completely satisfied with what it discovered, then, and only then, would it agree to destroy any weapons. There is no guarantee the U.S. would ever sign the agreement to destroy arms once it had strengthened its position with military intelligence. An "agreement to agree" in the future providing the circumstances warrant, in reality promises nothing.

The U.S. plan is also designed to gain rights of surveillance over Soviet atomic energy production facilities, potential war targets, in return for the dismantling of an unspecified number of nuclear weapons. This section is entitled, "To Contain and Reduce the Nuclear Threat." In view of the vast arsenal of nuclear weapons such a measure would leave in the hands of the U.S., with improved ability to make war on the U.S.S.R. thanks to increased information on targets, the title is hardly descriptive of the proposal.

AS IN THE PAST: The consequences of the provisions on reduction of "strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles" would be similar. In return for destroying an unspecified number of such vehicles (planes, ships, rockets, perhaps submarines) the U.S. would enhance the potential of those it retains by gaining information on Soviet installations. That the U.S. does not offer drastic reductions, while insisting that **any** reduction be accompanied by controls ("verification arrangements") over retained arms, means the U.S. position is substantially what it has been in the past: The U.S.S.R. must accept controls without any disarmament, or extensive controls in return for trifling reductions.

The U.S. plan would delay all radical disarmament pending an agreement among all powers on a U.N. Peace Force. Since this involves nothing less than a U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on the creation and direction of a military force that would dominate the world, it is not likely within the foreseeable future. It is hard to see how the problem could ever be solved, since neither antagonist is going to surrender its independence to the other. The realization of disarmament seems thus to be kept so distant as to be regarded by the plan's authors as a mere phrase for debating.

With this plan the U.S. government cannot expect to compete for world support against the U.S.S.R., which proposes total disarmament and unrestricted controls, both effective within four or five years. The Belgrade conference was a symptom of Soviet strength in the disarmament debate. The new American proposal will only confirm the growing conviction that the U.S. is avoiding any precise commitment to disarm within defined periods of time. About the only answer Adlai Stevenson has to this accusation is that the U.S. government has just created a new agency (a permanent one) to study the disarmament problem further (after 16 years!). When does an indefinite postponement finally come to mean a plain "no"?

THE 6,000-MILE MARCH ASSESSED

The S.F.-to-Moscow walk put a spotlight on peace

The writer is an active member of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, the group which sponsored the San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk. This is his evaluation of the project.

By Jack A. Smith

THE SAN FRANCISCO-Moscow peacewalkers have scattered to ten different countries, with 16 returning to America to resume the lives most of them left ten months ago. Each of the 31 walkers —one described them as "individual islands of fatigue"—has changed during the unprecedented 6,000-mile peace crusade.

But what of the world all of them hoped to change in varying degrees because of the historic venture? It appears all too much the same. No nation has thrown its bombs into the sea; tensions have increased and the world merely seems ten months closer to nuclear annihilation.

Yet, in many ways, the San Francisco-Moscow project has made significant contributions toward world peace, and perhaps the greatest was in the United States, where "Tell it to the Russians" or "Go to Moscow" has been the clarion of reaction whenever the arms race seemed threatened.

SOME LISTEN: The walkers **HAVE** told it to the Russians and, in so doing, they have diminished the contrived image of the U.S. peace movement as being an extension of Soviet foreign policy. Many Americans will now at least listen to the peace message where before their ears were shut. Because of this, the peace movement should grow.

In another respect, the concept of social protest has regained acceptability, though this may be temporary and somewhat negative. The American press—which must accept the onus for this change—may live to regret the week it lost its head and gave enthusiastic front-page coverage to a group of American pacifists in the U.S.S.R. protesting against war. It may be rather difficult to reject these people and their ideas with traditional vigor when they come home to roost. After all, they will be doing here only what seemed so appropriate in Moscow.

The walk also stimulated the Western peace movement to think of protest in terms larger than picketing and letter writing. This was especially true for the French movement even though—or perhaps because—the government prevented the walkers from entering France, and in West Germany, where it was reported that "pacifists appeared moved by the walk to challenge ever-increasing totalitarianism."

OFFICIALS CHALLENGED: Another achievement was in the realm of civil liberties. The walkers proposed ideas which varied with official policy in each of the seven nations they passed through. Also, the group was committed to offer non-violent civil disobedience whenever it was denied the right to enter any country or whenever it thought its message was being obscured by a government. At least once a day the group argued for the right to picket, pass out leaflets or hold meetings. In most cases they won, even though the local community or nation was not accustomed to granting such rights. Thus the marchers set important precedents.

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

THE PEACE WALKERS MEET THE PRESS AT N.Y. CONFERENCE

A. J. Muste, CNVA chairman, and Bradford Lyttle, march leader, sit at the head of the table; walkers stand in the rear.

For the first time an organized, radical opposition group was allowed to function within the U.S.S.R. to the extent of urging citizens not to cooperate with certain government policies. This is strong medicine, but the walk was allowed to prescribe it, and the freedom to do so indicates a broadening of civil liberties stimulated in part by the walk itself. In this connection, the project made it known that sharp differences regarding civil liberties exist within each nation and do not appear to be centrally determined within each bloc. It also raised some interesting questions:

Why did France totally oppose the walk when England gave a cordial reception? Why did West Germany become hysterical at having its military installations picketed when the U.S. did not interfere directly when this was done in America? Why was the East German government so suspicious and authoritarian when neighboring Poland gave the walk its freest and most enthusiastic welcome?

SOME REVELATIONS: As minor points, the walkers made it possible for Americans to learn that the average Soviet citizen finds it impossible to believe that the U.S. fears attack from Russia.

No nation appears ready to accept the concept of unilateral disarmament and non-violent resistance as a result of the walk. No one really thought nations would.

Above all, however, is this fact: The Committee for Nonviolent Action showed that a mere handful of people with a minimum of financing can make the world take notice if they have dedication, endurance and imagination.

PRIVATE PROFITS FROM PUBLIC RESEARCH?

The biggest giveaway ever shapes up on TV satellite

By Lawrence Emery

WITHIN A FEW YEARS a person may make a telephone call to any point in the world that would cost no more than a dime. Facsimile copies of mail, newspapers, magazines and business data of all kind may be transmitted instantaneously to any spot on earth. At any given moment, a billion persons in every nation in the world could be watching the same TV program, in color, with simultaneous translation. Before the end of this decade the revenue from such revolutionary improvement and expansion of communications will run to billions of dollars a year.

These developments have been made possible by the astronomical investment of public money in space and rocket research. The Kennedy Administration is now proposing to turn over the results of this research in the communications field to private industry in what would be the biggest giveaway in history.

World-wide transmission of telephone, telegraph, radio, television and facsimile signals through communications satellites in space is now so advanced that experts are confident that a commercial system can be put in operation by 1965. The big question is: Will it be for the public benefit or for private gain?

THE ANSWER: President Eisenhower gave the first answer in the closing days of his Administration when he said: "The government should aggressively encourage private enterprise in the establishment and operation of satellite relays for revenue-producing purposes." The Kennedy forces did not alter this basic approach but simply dressed it up in New Frontier language. Development of a space communications system would demonstrate this country's superiority over Russia in the "application of space science to peaceful and useful ends;" the project would be promoted "in the interest of world peace and closer brotherhood among peoples throughout the world." But on July 24 a White House statement endorsed "private ownership and operation of the United States portion" of a space communications system.

Earlier the Federal Communications Commission had asked for proposals for organizing and operating a commercial space system. American Telegraph & Telephone Co., the country's biggest, richest monopoly, said ownership should be limited to those companies already in the international communications business. Other firms, such as General Electric, urged broad participation by all carriers, equipment manufacturers and the public.

In May the FCC adopted AT&T's proposal in spite of a Justice Dept. brief arguing against it and favoring GE's argument for open entry in what the government has since come to call the consortium. Congress was slow to react, but by August Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee's Subcommittee on Monopoly Investigations, accused the FCC of planning to put the new industry into the hands of AT&T which, he said, has become "the most powerful monopoly in America" under FCC regulations. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said: "If this thing goes through, AT&T would run the show and Western Electric (its wholly owned subsidiary) would get most of the equipment work."

SETUP PROPOSED: The FCC called upon AT&T and nine other international carriers to form a committee and present a plan by Oct. 13 (only three of the nine were large enough to carry any weight and they were overwhelmed by AT&T). The plan produced recommends a non-profit organization to "develop, construct, operate, maintain and promote the use of a commercial satellite communication system." Ownership of the actual satellite system would be vested in the corporation, while ground stations would remain in the hands of the individual carriers. The government would have three representatives on the corporation's board, chosen by the President; participating common carriers would get two directors each; all the users of the system would join together and name one board member.

Western Union, one of the carriers represented on the planning committee, issued a minority statement warning of the danger of possible domination of the corporation by one of the bigger carriers—a clear reference to AT&T. Some observers predicted that under the plan presented, AT&T would end up owning between 80% and 90% of the new corporation. The government has now extended until Nov. 12 the deadline for comments on the plan by interested parties. The issue promises to be one of the hottest in the next Congress.

In August, 35 Democrats in Congress wrote a letter to Kennedy on the danger of monopoly control of the space communications program and asked him to delay until the system is in use the decision whether it "should be publicly or privately owned and under what circumstances." They saw a danger that the FCC's present approach "would mean that AT&T would have a dominant and very probably a monopoly position. In effect, AT&T would be the chosen instrument of the U.S. government to own and control civilian space communications.

"This would be intolerable from the standpoint of the public interest," the letter said.

MODEL OF AT&T'S SPACE SATELLITE IS SHOWN TO THE SENATORS
FCC Chairman Newton E. Minow (left) testified at the hearing

RYAN RESOLUTION: Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.) introduced a resolution in the last session calling for government ownership and operation for at least two years to "allow for a full study of the problems of private ownership in the future." He said such an interim period is needed "at this early stage in the development of the space-communications program in order to avoid the necessity of making premature decisions concerning the ultimate ownership and operation of space-communications systems."

Joseph P. Selly, president of the American Communications Assn., an independent union, in a statement to the Senate Small Business Subcommittee on Monopoly, urged government ownership and operation of the system to prevent private monopoly control and to insure continued competition among existing private communications carriers. He charged AT&T with continuing incursions into the domestic and international telegraph fields and intense efforts to control the new satellite system.

He said: "The staggering costs of research and development which today make feasible the establishment of satellite relays have been borne by taxation of the American people. There is no valid reason for presenting any American corporation or group of corporations with a handout at the expense of the people."

NASA PROJECT: Both the Defense Dept. and the Natl. Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) have pushed the development of communication satellites since 1958. More than a year ago NASA launched Echo I, a huge aluminized balloon which is still circling the globe in a 1,000-mile high orbit; it has served as a "passive" relay for radio and other signals bounced off it from one ground station to another.

Last October the Army orbited Courier I, an "active" communications satellite which is able to receive and store messages and repeat them on demand.

Both NASA and AT&T plan to launch two satellites each of this type next year. AT&T's will be the first privately owned satellites in orbit in history—but to get them into space it will have to use government launching and rocket equipment at a price of $6 million each.

Two systems of space communications are under consideration. One would use 40 to 50 satellites in low polar orbits for continuous relay of messages. As one passed out of range over the horizon, the next one coming up would take over.

The second system would use satellites 22,300 miles above the equator. At this height they would travel at the same speed as the earth and therefore would remain relatively stationary over one spot. It is estimated that three such satellites properly spaced could be used to communicate instantly with any spot in the world.

$400 MILLION: The cost of setting up a space communications system is estimated at more than $400 million.

Dallas W. Smythe, a communications expert writing in the **Nation** for Oct. 21, had this question about private ownership of such a system:

"Is the whole thing not simply a device by which private interests may obtain profits from the use of public agencies and public money in the operation of a technology which itself is impossible of reduction to private property?"

LOS ANGELES

KUMAR GOSHAL

Foreign Affairs Editor, The GUARDIAN, just returned after a 17-week tour of Africa, India, and Israel, will give

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BOOKS

The real China

IN HIS EXCELLENT book **Awakened China*** Felix Greene calls China "the country Americans do not know." The author makes clear that the American public's ignorance of China is no chance occurrence but the result of persistent, willful distortion of reality designed to make us believe that the Chinese people are "helpless slaves in the grip of a ruthless, malevolent leadership."

After two visits to China, Greene, an English journalist and businessman long resident in America, finds that the truth is the opposite of what we have been told. "No one can be in China more than a few hours without sensing an almost tangible vitality and an enormous optimism. No experience in my life shook me so deeply as this first visit to China . . . . I came away certain that what was taking place in China was one of the great historical events of our era."

A DEDICATED individualist and free-enterpriser, Greene is nevertheless willing to grant human validity to China's collective approach to appalling problems of poverty and backwardness. The author is able to take China as he finds her, to criticize what he does not like, to question what he does not understand, and to embrace enthusiastically what pleases him, which amounts to a great deal. This approach is rewarding. No reader of goodwill can avoid a sense of expanding horizons as he follows Greene through an extraordinary series of encounters with interpreters, officials, peasants, children, doctors, writers, industrial managers, workers, and an inevitable sprinkling of disgruntled foreigners. His notes and comments add up to a lively, challenging, three-dimensional picture of a turbulent "new" country that is older by far than most and has not forgotten its past.

Perhaps the most indispensable chapters (because they nail the biggest lies) are those that deal with the communes. Greene visited 15 of these federated cooperatives and chose not the most prosperous, but the poorest to write about. This was a backcountry community of 8,000 families. His conclusion — that the communes are the result of an unforeseen movement from below, that they solve important problems of livelihood for rural producers and that they enjoy the support of the vast majority of their peasant members — corresponds with everything which this reviewer has been able to learn, both from contacts inside China and from visitors who recently returned from there.

IN THE HONAN COMMUNE Greene came upon a fact that seemed almost incredible. The commune members sold 313,000 pounds of fish annually, but themselves ate fish only three times a year. When he asked how this could be, members explained that they continued to eat plain food **by choice** in order to save money for things they wanted more than fish—X-ray equipment, schoolrooms, books, movie projectors, homes for the childless aged.

"Here," Greene writes, "I had hit on one element that above all else was enabling China to move forward so rapidly—the sense of self-restraint, the awareness that sacrifices now were necessary to lay the foundation for future prosperity."

A NEW ATTITUDE
It is a "we" economy

Self-restraint, Greene discovered, was but one aspect of a much larger phenomena that astonished, intrigued, and baffled him—the changes in fundamental attitude and outlook going on inside people. Greene considers this "psychological revolution" even more important than the material changes so evident everywhere. At its core he finds a new attitude developing toward private property. "The element of personal acquisitiveness here appears to be reduced to the vanishing point. This is no 'me first' economy; it is a 'we' economy that is growing here. They are really not intrested in making money for themselves. The Chinese appear to be finding their basic psychological security not in the search for personal possessions, but in the quality of their relationships with each other, and the implications of this are enormous."

THE IMPLICATIONS certainly are. Greene, for whom human nature is personified by the individual hero of the Renaissance, hardly understands them. But there is no need to dwell on this weakness here. As was stated above, the author's great and refreshing virtue is that he is willing to grant a validity to concepts unknown to Shakespeare or Jefferson and to examine them with an open mind.

For this Felix Greene will not be forgiven by the denizens of Foggy Bottom or the 6,000 members of the Committee of One Million. The American people, on the other hand, stand deeply in his debt. **—William Hinton**

**AWAKENED CHINA, by Felix Greene. Doubleday & Co., New York. 420 pp. $5.95.*

THOMAS BELL'S STORY

The last reckoning

CARLYLE, triumphantly completing his **History of the French Revolution,** exclaimed: "Who touches this book, touches a man." In a very different and much humbler, but equally real, sense one might say just that of Thomas Bell's **In the Midst of Life,*** the story of a writer's last year.

Bell, whom many of us remember with particular warmth for his depression novel **All Brides Are Beautiful** and his largely autobiographical novel **Out of This Furnace,** retired to California after an illness seven or eight years ago. He and his wife were living quietly in a small town near Palo Alto, running a stationery and gift card shop there.

Two years ago, at 55, he learned that he had an inoperable tumor which, the doctors informed him, would kill him in less that 24 months. As an atheist this meant to him that: "where others, in the old phrase, must make their peace with God, I must make mine with myself."

The book, which closes in October, 1960, ten weeks before the end, tells us of the neighbors, customers, incidents, memories and ideas which filled the time during which he made his personal attempt to come to final terms with life and death.

There is neither heroic transformation nor deliberate pathos, and the reckoning is such that surely many other readers will find themselves repeatedly measuring against his reasonable success. Could I manage to act so? To keep a sense of proportion—and of humor? To learn to control feelings as well as words? To make such an effort of thought—and really care about the thinking—under such all-too-probable circumstances?

This sober and honest book gives an encouraging picture of the modest human dignity one might well strive for and hope to achieve oneself if faced by such necessity.

—Annette T. Rubinstein

**IN THE MIDST OF LIFE, by Thomas Bell. Atheneum. 275 pp. $4.50.*

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

THE SOVIET REVIEW
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NOVEMBER; Confessions of a Generation; Youth Opinion Poll (Komsomolskaya Pravda); **Employment Transfers,** D. Bazarboyev (State and Law—Gosudarstvo i Pravo); **Public Participation in Settling Labor Disputes,** Evgeny Klyenov (Gosudarstvo i Pravo); **The Role of the Physician in Promoting Scientific Atheism** (Problems of Philosophy—Voprosy Filosofi); **Clinical Death Defeated,** P. Sevalnyova (Science and Life — Nauka i Zhizm); **Too Much Work in the Boarding School!**— B. Shirvindt (Izvestia).

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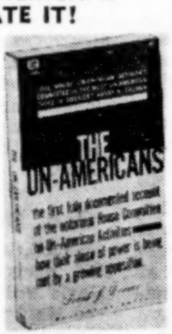

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DEPORTATION ORDER

Harry Carlisle loses for a third time

HARRY CARLISLE
Still another appeal

LOS ANGELES

HARRY CARLISLE has been ordered deported for the third time since his arrest by the Immigration Service in June, 1950. Twice deportation orders were set aside on appeal, on grounds of improper administrative procedure and denial of due process of law. Carlisle's attorney has filed notice of a third appeal.

The latest round of hearings resulted from a Court of Appeals decision based on **Jencks** (U.S. Supreme Court), stating that denial of inspection of a pre-hearing statement by government witness Roy Huggins, who in 1953 testified in deportation proceedings that Carlisle had been "a fellow member of a Communist Party writers' group in Hollywood in 1946-1947," was a denial of due process.

Hearings were reopened in October, 1960, the Huggins document was produced for inspection by Carlisle, and after some months' delay, Huggins was questioned.

Briefs were filed, including a statement by Carlisle challenging the assumption that Communist Party membership, even if deemed proved, was the "legislated guilt" of sedition, sabotage, treason and advocacy of violent overthrow of the U.S. government, as set forth in the preamble of the Internal Security Act and the Walter-McCarran Law.

The hearing officer found Huggins' testimony as to Carlisle's alleged Communist Party membership "credible," and the new deportation order was issued. Notice of appeal was entered on Oct. 18 and will be argued before the Immigration Board of Appeals in Washington, D.C., by Forer and Rein, attorneys for the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The Committee points out Carlisle has resided here 41 years. It asks financial support for legal defense work. Mail should be addressed to Room 318, 326 West 3rd St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.

PETITION DRIVE

Support grows for MacKay and Mackie

PORTLAND, ORE.

FORMER GOV. Charles A. Sprague and City commissioner Stanley W. Earl are among 669 Oregonians who have endorsed a petition to pass Senate bills asking return of Hamish MacKay and William Mackie, deported last Nov. 18 from Portland. The petition asks passage of Senate Bills 420 and 421, introduced by Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) last January.

Among supporters of the bills are Richard H. Sullivan, president of Reed College; Richard M. Steiner, minister, Unitarian Church; Charles T. Duncan, dean of journalism at the University of Oregon in Eugene; Robert D. Webb, publisher of the Portland **Reporter**; David H. Newhall, professor at Portland State University; and Dorothy Johansen, Northwest historian.

The additional 669 signatures raise the local area total to 1,100. Thousands more have been obtained throughout Canada and the U.S.

MacKay was deported to Canada under the Walter-McCarran law after an 11-year fight. He had lived in the U.S. 30 years. Mackie was deported to Finland on similar charges after an eight-year battle. He had lived in the U.S. all but eight months of his 50 years.

KUMAR
GOSHAL
A REPORT
ON AFRICA

PALO ALTO (Stanford U.) Wed., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. Hall to be announced.

LOS ANGELES—Fri., Nov. 10. Institute of Aerospace Sciences, 7660 Beverly Blvd. at Stanley. Adm. $1

DETROIT—Sun., Nov. 26, Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer H'way. 7:30 p.m.

SEATTLE—Fri., Nov. 17, 8 p.m., Arcade Bldg. (Evergreen Hall, Room 3013), 1319 2nd Ave. Don. $1.

PHILADELPHIA — Sat., Dec. 2. Place to be announced. Watch for details!

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

Mrs. Mallory free on kidnap-case bail

MRS. MAE MALLORY, who fled from the terror in Monroe, N.C., and was arrested in Cleveland on Oct. 13, has been freed in $750 bond raised by the Monroe Defense Committee. Mrs. Mallory was visiting in Monroe when the August riots broke out, and was named, with Robert Williams, as one of the "kidnapers" of a white couple during the riots. Williams is in Cuba, where he has been granted asylum.

Mrs. Mallory was arrested by FBI agents on a Federal warrant charging her with "fleeing from justice." On Oct. 19 she appeared in Cleveland criminal court for a hearing on the Federal charge, plus a new charge, delivered from Union County, N.C., accusing her of "kidnaping" and requesting "immediate extradition." On request by her attorney, Herman Berkman, the judge dropped the Federal charge. Berkman obtained a continuance until Nov. 22 of hearing on the extradition request. Meanwhile, Mrs. Mallory must remain in northeastern Ohio.

Gen. Hester to speak Nov. 12

BRIG. GEN. Hugh B. Hester (U.S. Army Retired) and Dr. Jerome Davis will speak at the annual rally of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship at Carnegie Hall, New York, Sunday, Nov. 12, at 7:30 p.m. Rockwell Kent will preside. Pianist Natalie Derujinsky will play.

Tickets are $1 and may be obtained at the National Council, 114 E. 32nd St., New York City.

IN NEW YORK NOVEMBER 11

Lawyers Guild conference on world issues

A DAY-LONG CONFERENCE dealing with major international issues will be conducted by the National Lawyers Guild on Saturday, Nov. 11, at the auditorium of the New York Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44th St., New York. The program, sponsored by the Lawyers Guild international law committee, will take up the Berlin dispute, China representation in the UN and the winning of world peace through law.

The Berlin situation will be discussed at a session from 1 to 3 p.m. Speakers will be Prof. Joseph W. Bishop Jr. of Yale Law School, formerly with the U.S. High Commissioner in Germany, and Max Dean of the Michigan Bar, head of the Guild's international law committee.

The question of world peace through law will be taken up from 3:30 to 5:30, with Prof. Leon S. Lipson of Yale Law School and Victor Rabinowitz of the New York Bar as speakers. A session from 8 to 10:30 p.m. will consider China representation in the UN. Talks will be given by E. K. Dadzie, legal advisor to the Ghana delegation to the UN, and Ira Gollobin of the New York Bar.

Registration is $1.50 for the three meetings, or $1 for a single session. Law students will be admitted to a session for 50c. The Lawyers Guild offices are at 154 Nassau St., New York 38. The phone is BA 7-0385.

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See the Bargains on Page 12

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34th St. & 8th Ave.
Admission 99c
For tickets call PE 6-3228
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15 W. 34th St. New York 1

McCarran Act & Democracy
The meaning of the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party
Hear Benjamin J. Davis
Natl., Secretary, C.P.U.S.A.
SUNDAY, NOV. 5 8 P.M.
Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway
Ausp: Crown Hghts Forum. Cont. 50c

DETROIT

H E A R
KUMAR GOSHAL
in a
Report on AFRICA
Sun., Nov. 26, 7:30 p.m.
Jewish Music Center
14864 Schaefer Highway

NEW YORK

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and his group in songs and dances of the new African nations
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IN THREE PARTS
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CAMEO 8th Ave. (nr. 44th) JU 6-8534

POC
Commemorates the 44th Anniversary of Soviet Power
SUN., NOV. 5 2 P.M.
CENTRAL PLAZA ANNEX
40 E. 7th St., Rm. 4-H, N.Y.C.
Speakers: ARMANDO ROMAN, NELSON PEERY, others. Entertmt.

RESORTS

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

Weekly! Soviet films with English titles. Fri. & Sat., 8 p.m. — Sun. 3 p.m. Russian Arts Club 2952 North Av. Nov. 3-5: **CHILDHOOD OF MAXIM GORKY** (rest of autobiography Nov. 17-19, Dec. 1-3) plus **Chicago premiere of 1-hr. Bolshoi Ballet Documentary.** Nov. 10-12: **CHUK AND GEK** & Surprise Film.

BILL OF RIGHTS SUPPER—Sun., Nov. 12, 5:30 p.m at 800 S. Halsted St.; Guest speakers: Anne Braden, Burton White, Calif. student leader. Sponsor: Chi. Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Reservations $2 50 per plate. Call: DE 2-7142 or write 189 W. Madison, Rm. 811, Chicago 2, Ill.

Russian Arts Club Travel Night
Plans for a cultural tour of U.S.S.R. Discussion of coming Moscow World's Fair. Color slides by Chicago Russian Orthodox Priest who lived with peasants, conducted Leningrad church choir during his tour. Two other tourists' reports. Wed., Nov. 8, 8 p.m., at 2952 W. North Av. Cont. $1, students 50c.

LOS ANGELES

Make Reservations Now for the **11th ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER** honoring the Legal Panel & Public Officers. **SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18th,** 6:30 p.m.
PARK MANOR BALLROOM
607 South Western Av.
Cultural Program: Miss Emily McKnight, soprano, will sing folk & classical songs; Waldemar Hille, piano accompanist. Talented young violinist in classical program. Guest speaker: Atty. **JOSEPH FORER,** Wash., D.C. Rev. **STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN** Master of Ceremonies. Delicious dinner will be served. Res. $15. per person. Reservations being taken now at offices of L.A. Comm. for Prot. of For. Born, 326 W. 3 St., Rm. 318, L.A. 13, Calif. Phone: MAdison 5-2160.

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
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KIROV LENINGRAD BALLET
Nov. 26 (matinee): Sleeping Beauty
Dec. 1 (evening): Gala Program No. 2. Institute open Tues., Wed., and Thurs. evenings. 140 N. La Brea Av., Rm. 204, Los Angeles 36, Calif.

NEW YORKERS

- *there ARE issues in this mayoralty campaign.*
- *there IS a reason to go to the polls Tues., Nov. 7*

Make your vote count against the Wagner-Lefkowitz evasion of the issues:

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FRED HALSTEAD
for Controller

SYLVIA WEINSTEIN
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CLARENCE FRANKLIN
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Professor of Economics, Stanford Univ. speaks on
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Fri., Nov. 10, 8 p.m.
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Don. $1. Question Period

NO. CALIFORNIA

MAUD RUSSELL Annual Speaking Tour Northern Calif. area Nov. 7th to Dec. 3rd. Write: Russell, care of Thompson, 363 Lester St., Oakland, Calif. Phone: GL 1-7745.

SAN FRANCISCO

Three gala anniversary celebrations
Sun., Nov. 19, 7:30, 150 Golden Gate Av. Peace reports by Alice & Harvey Richards, Albert Kahn, Aubrey Grossman, Sonia Kaross, Holland Roberts, all newly returned from U.S.S.R. Tickets 50c at American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St.

PHILADELPHIA

Fri., Nov. 10, 8:30 p.m. sharp
GUS HALL, Gen. Sec'y, Communist Party, speaks on "The Ultra-Right vs. Peace." Adelphia Hotel, 13 & Chestnut Sts. Sponsor: Philadelphia Social Science Forum. The first of a series of six held monthly. Season tickets $5, single admission $1. For tickets and further information contact James Dolsen, 2018 N. 32 St., Phil. 21; phone: CEnter 2-0512.

NEW YORK

SCOTT NEARING talks on
"WORLD EVENTS"
at Hotel Beacon, Broadway & 75 St.
Tues., Nov. 14. — 8:30 p.m.
Admission $1.

Liberation Committee for Africa representative, **DANIEL H. WATTS** speaks on "The Struggle of African People for Freedom from Colonialism" Fri., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m., at 5013—10 Av., Brooklyn (BMT West End to 50 St. Station). Adm. free. Ausp: Boro Park Fraternal Society.

TWO DAYS ONLY!!
Thurs., Fri., Nov. 2, 3, **RUSSIAN LULLABY** plus **MARDI GRASS**
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Sun., Nov. 5. — 8 p.m. sharp.
DR. CLARK FOREMAN, director of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, on "Smith & McCarran Act Decisions and Effect on Civil Liberties."
Brighton Community Center,
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Tabouleh (Lebanese Salad), London Roast Lamb, French Potato Salad, Hickory-smoked Ham, exotic cheeses, music of all nations. Live entertainment.
BURNING ISSUES DOES IT AGAIN!
Another great party. Fri., Nov. 3, 9:30 p.m., 67 2nd Av. (ent. on 4 St.) Cont. 75c.

CUBA IN FREEDOM
an eyewitness report
Speakers: **JAMES O'CONNOR,** economist at Barnard College (Col. Univ.), just returned after another tour of Cuba.
Fri., Nov. 10, — 8:30 p.m.
116 University Place Cont. $1.
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum

AUTOMATION: Promise or Menace Hear: **CHARLES ALLEN Jr.** (Nat. Ed. Director of U.E.), Mon., Nov. 6,—8 p.m. 67 2nd Av. (ent. on 4 St.) Sponsor: Burning Issues.

COME MEET THE CANDIDATES
AT OUR CAMPAIGN SOCIAL
Socialist Workers Party candidate **RICHARD GARZA** for mayor will attend. Sat., Nov. 4, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. — FUN, FOOD, DANCE. Cont. $1. Ausp: Soc. Workers Campaign Comm.

VACATION IN MEXICO
Sun., Nov. 5, — 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments, 230 W. 16 St., Apt. 1-A. Phone: DA 8-6154, afternoons. Next week: **BRAZIL.**

Greet a Freedom Rider!
Meet and hear Mary Hamilton, who spent 4 months in jail, on Thurs., Nov. 9, 8 p.m., at 67 2nd Av. (ent. on 4 St.) Cont. 25c. Civil Rights Committee of Burning Issues.

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UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM
DR. PAUL BARAN, Prof. of Economics, Stanford U.
Speaks on
"Is America An Under-Developed Country?"
Friday, Nov. 10 8 p.m. Don. $1
First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th St., L.A.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 50c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

CLASSIFIED

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LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

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MEDINA, PRICE, JEAN RUBINSTEIN

Garza endorsed for Mayor

A UNANIMOUS endorsement of the candidacy of Richard Garza for Mayor of New York was given at a windup rally for the Socialist Workers Party, Oct. 27, by guest speakers Julio Medina, director of the New York 26th of July Movement, Jean Rubinstein, a veteran of the labor and socialist struggles, and William A. Price, journalist and civil liberties fighter.

Medina noted the SWP support of the Cuban revolution, and his own belief in "unity of the working class for independent political action."

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, noted teacher and author, in a letter expressed her complete agreement with "the constant refusal of the SWP to choose a lesser evil." Jean Rubinstein, reminded the audience of the 1949 mayorality campaign when Vito Marcantonio received 356,000 votes. She said: "We have to find these people . . . we have to find anyone who has ever felt any idea of socialism . . . No matter what he is doing now, he can be awakened."

Price congratulated the SWP for its "integrity in persistently calling for the right of free discussion."

William F. Warde, Marxist author and lecturer, was chairman. Fred Halstead, candidate for Controller; Sylvia Weinstein, for President of the City Council, and Clarence Franklin, for Manhattan Borough President, also spoke.

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FRIDAY, NOV. 10
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Hoodwinking a nation

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Robert E. Light's story about the civil defense hoax, on Page 1, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

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The National Guardian
197 E. 4th St. New York 9

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GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Holiday Cards from Mexico! Two GBS Exclusives!

"PEACE" by SIQUEIROS

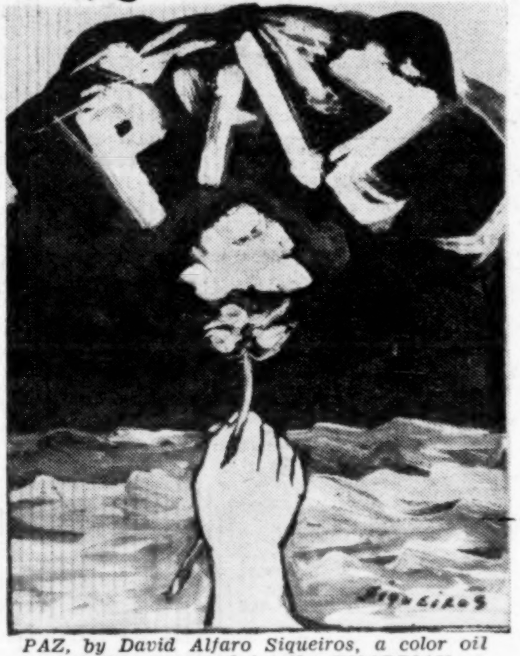
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE is honored to announce that David Alfaro Siqueiros, world famous Mexican artist, who has been imprisoned in Mexico City for the last 15 months, has prepared a holiday greeting card exclusively for readers of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

"PAZ," reproduced in black and white (right), is a magnificent oil painting showing peace striking like lightning out of the dark clouds of war, and a hand holding a single rose to the future. It has been reproduced by the GUARDIAN in all of its vivid, rich colors in a 5"x7", single-fold greeting card, on exquisite, heavy stock.

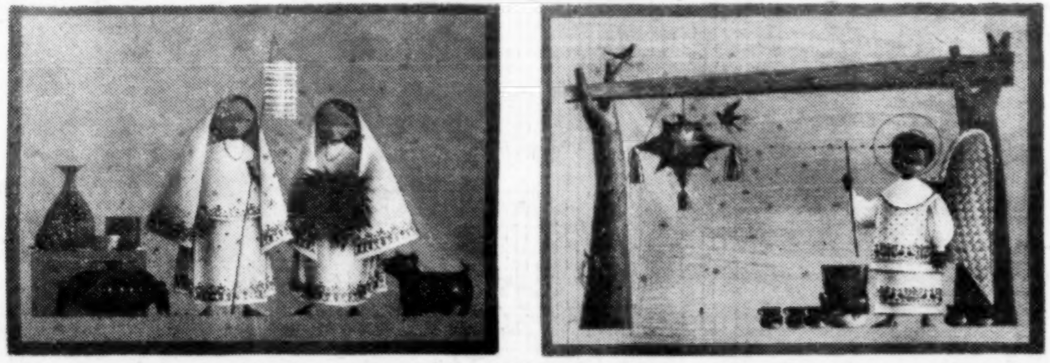
The painting was done in Lecumberri Prison in Mexico City late in September shortly before the artist, who has been jailed under Mexico's notorious "social dissolution law," and who is suffering from hepatitis and failing sight, collapsed..

The GUARDIAN is packing eight cards to a box, with white, vellum envelopes. The price is $2 per box. They will be sold only through GBS, and will be available for delivery about November 20.

All friends of peace will want this magnificent greeting card.



PAZ, by David Alfaro Siqueiros, a color oil painting prepared for the GUARDIAN in Lecumberri Prison, Mexico City.



Two of the four cards packed in the lovely set by Rangel Hidalgo

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NEWSPAPER

Rangel Hidalgo

A GBS GREETING CARD coup! Through our Mexico City Scout GBS has acquired 1,000 boxes of extraordinarily beautiful holiday cards by the noted Mexican artist, Rangel Hidalgo, whose UNESCO cards were so popular a few years ago. Our new cards, distinctly Mexican in their highly stylized figures, are printed on medium weight, quality stock with a single fold, without a message inside, making them suitable for your own holiday greeting or for later use as note cards. All cards are 4½" x 6" and come packed ten in a box (two of No. 509, three of No. 507, four of No. 508 and one of No. 501) with envelopes. Printed in Mexico in five colors, with a gold border, they are exquisitely tasteful. For ten cards of one kind only, add 25c for special collating and packaging. **$2 per box of ten. 1,000 boxes only—Order today! Bulk prices on all cards on request**

ST. GABRIEL VALLEY

KUMAR GOSHAL
and
CEDRIC BELFRAGE
(recorded)
will be heard
SATURDAY, NOV. 11
8 P.M.
3921 Muscatel, Rosemead
Refreshments

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the SPECTATOR

A Royal day in Peking

PEKING

WE HAD ROYALTY no end on National Day in Peking, Oct. 1. There was King Mahendra of Nepal with his queen, and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, widow of Leopold of World War I and grandmother of the present king, and she brought her daughter, who was queen of Italy when that monarchy fell.

There also were three visitors outranking kings in different ways. President Dorticos of Cuba got precedence over Mahendra in all speeches, lists and toasts. (It probably was the first time in history Cuba ranked first on the honors list). The others were the Panchen Erdeni from Lhasa—to true believers a "living god"—and Pu Yi, ex-emperor of China and again of Manchukuo, a man to whom both Nepal and Lhasa paid tribute in the empire days.

THE PANCHEN ERDENI AND PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI

Pu Yi was not, of course, at Premier Chou En-lai's table at the banquet given the night before the big public demonstration. But he had a good front table where I saw him chatting with the Panchen. Between the courses, when people went about among the tables, Pu Yi exchanged greetings with Queen Elizabeth.

THE WESTERN PRESS, when it mentions Pu Yi, usually says the Communists kept him in jail and now permit him to dig in a botanical park. It is true that he digs, but he also has a scientific job of bringing tropical plants to the north.

The Manchus, a sizable national minority in China, still regard Pu Yi as the chief of their clan. The fact that the Chinese didn't execute him as a war criminal, after the brutal decrees he signed for the Japanese as their puppet in Manchuria, surprises some visitors. Pu Yi tells them cheerfully that he is now healthier, happier and freer than he ever was as an emperor, and that he always had indigestion until he did physical work.

He is said to have written his autobiography, a work in two volumes which should be of world interest when published. One hears that the only tasty food he ever got as emperor was what his mother sent over from her private kitchen. The imperial chef's office was hereditary, and while he had to furnish the emperor 72 dishes at every meal, he had become, down through the generations, a bureaucrat who couldn't cook! No wonder the poor emperor got indigestion! Not to mention the constant fear of being poisoned by some rival. Nobody, he says, ever cared for him as a human being until the Chinese Communist jailers got him. They gave real thought to converting an ex-emperor war-criminal into a sound and useful human. They seem to have succeeded, and Pu Yi seems grateful.

KING MAHENDRA, who has been touring China, will sign a border treaty with Peking. He has complimented China on its fairness in dealing with the borders of small nations. Similar compliments were expected from Premier U Nu of Burma, who also will sign a border treaty.

As to the Sino-Nepal treaty, the West will chiefly want to know who gets Mt. Everest. This is left for Mahendra to announce when he returns home; he has to deal with dissidents who want the whole mountain, and he must be allowed to handle the matter in his own way. China's ancient maps showed the mountain inside Tibet; old British and Indian maps, presented by Nepal, showed it on the border but did not mark the summit, which nobody ever mapped. Mao Tse-tung said a year ago: "We'll accept the maps presented by Nepal." It is a safe guess that the summit is now on the exact border.

Queen Elizabeth came as guest of the Chinese Women's Federation; she is 85 years old and noted for progressive activities. I admired the sprightly way she trotted up the three flights of steps to the banquet hall. I asked Baron Allard, who travels with her to make her speeches, how she managed to keep so spry. The baron said she has "done Yoga" for a long time. Not only a brisk hour's walk daily, but also standing on her head.

ROYALTY'S VISIT caused problems to some of Peking's parents. One friend of mine says his 7-year-old son was much disturbed. "Kings and queens are bad people, and now they have come to our country. Is our country getting bad?" he asked.

It is, I think, the best social event of the year, this banquet Chou gives for all the guests who have come for National Day. There were about 2,000 this time from 70 countries, with perhaps 500 more from Peking. There is only one short speech—the Premier's welcome to the guests. Between th courses, people circulate from table to table to meet anyone they want to, and exchange toasts.

—Anna Louise Strong